



POLITICS. ART.

EDITORIAL SECTION

From an Independent Standpoint

By Job.

The 56th Congress

THIS Congress opens a brand new volume in the history of the United States. Old things have passed away. Since Appomattox a generation has gone. All the great civil and military leaders of that epoch are dead. The questions that for half a century divided parties, inundating the nation with blood, and consuming it long afterward, are crystallized in statutes settled by the logic of events, or extinct. State rights, the negro, reconstruction, the crime of '73, the theft of the Presidency, greenbacks, the tariff, government by injunction, free coinage of silver, are no more. The cock's shrill, shrill claxon or the echoing horn may perhaps hereafter rouse them from their lowly bed, but not before the end of McKinley's second term. In their place appears the gold standard, monopolies, the Nicaragua Canal, Cuba, insular possessions, colonial dependencies, the war in the Philippines, world competition and commercial supremacy. This

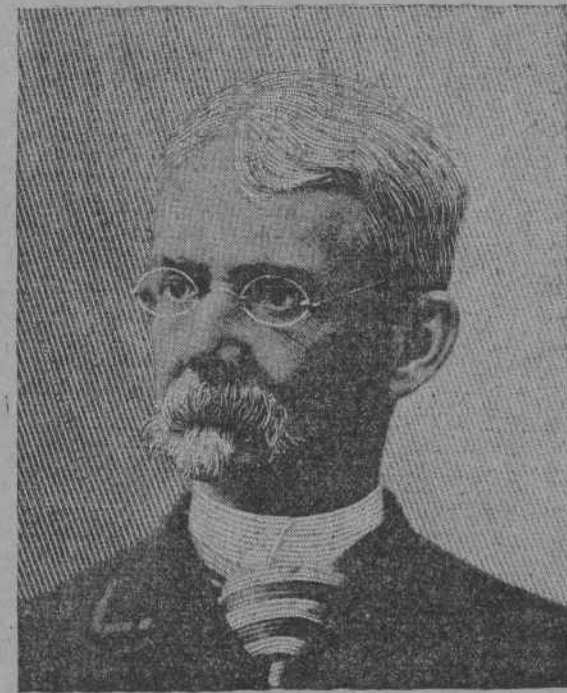
so far as disclosed, is the programme of the twentieth century, in which Congress has the initiative. It is not wanting in the stimulus of novelty, nor in opportunity for statesmanship, eloquence in debate, oratory and leadership. If there be any mute, inglorious Websters or Patrick Henrys in the Senate or House, let them now speak out or forever after hold their peace. They need be mute and inglorious no longer. The occasion is here. The country is impatient to hear from them. But the toiling millions will not be content with tire-some compilations from cyclopedias, nor diligent threshings of last year's straw ricks. They have had surfeit of cheap rhetoric and stage thunder. They want the real thing. Destiny, which punctuates history with its surprises, stood with tragic mask at the threshold of the Senate.

The Vice-President was dead. At the portals of the House its sardonic visage wore an inscrutable smile. Reed was not Speaker. No man ever loved power and prominence and publicity more than Reed. They were incense and intoxication to him. He was surrounded by a phalanx of choir boys swinging incense and flunkies bearing flags, who disturbed his equilibrium. He forgot that politics is the science of compromises. For some reason, or for no reason, possibly from conviction, perhaps from revenge, he began to put himself against the measures of his party and the policies of the Administration. He did not measure accurately the strength and momentum of the forces with which he was contending. He was like a whaler caught in the ice pack of polar seas. The slow, silent, relentless, irresistible masses close in, and the voyage is ended. If any student of human passions believes that Reed really prefers the dull, obscure routine of a lawyer's office to the splendid fame, opportunity and power of the Speakership, he is too green to burn.

This session of Congress will be specially interesting and important because it will formulate the issues of the coming Presidential campaign and lay out the lines of battle between Republicanism and Democracy. Both parties will play for position, and each will try to put the other in a hole.

New times, it is said, demand new manners and new men, but not here. The political history of the United States has moved from the beginning, and will move

to the end, in a narrow orbit defined by the conflict between two theories of the Constitution. Whatever the issues, war, peace, finance, expansion, imperialism, these are the limits. Sometimes one will prevail, sometimes the other, according to the mood and temper of the people. If fatigued or dubious, they put on the brakes. When alert, buoyant and sanguine they open the throttle and give her sand. One theory is that of the doctrinaire who regards government as a



fixed problem, in which all details and methods are to be adjudged by strict construction of the express grants of power in the Constitution. This is Democracy. The other theory is that of the practical politician, who sees that in the complex and constantly changing incidents of a nation's daily life the application of predetermined conceptions is impracticable, and that he is wisest who adapts himself to measures that are momentarily fit, leaving questions of ethics sub-

ject to considerations of public welfare to take care of themselves. This is Republicanism.

The Republican party has been in power close upon forty years. It has made mistakes. It has had some tough leaders, some squalid bosses. It has occasionally conceded too much to popular errors. Now and then the people have got vexed and kicked the stuffing out of it. But the estrangement has only been casual and temporary. The majority has been with it, is with it still, and is likely to remain with it for an indefinite time to come. The causes of the prodigious vitality of the Republican party are not far to seek. It has great respect for the Constitution, but is not afraid of it. If the Constitution stands across the path of the people, why so much the worse for the Constitution. If it wants to abolish slavery, or make paper money legal tender, it finds the way. If there are no precedents it makes them. It wastes no time for reverie. It is strictly up to date, and ready for all emergencies. It cares nothing for consistency. It is not deterred from taking a certain course to-day because it pursued another yesterday. Sufficient unto to-morrow is the evil thereof.

The passage of the Gold Standard Currency bill by the House was a striking example of the habits and methods of the Republican party. It had boxed the compass on the money question. It created the legal tender greenback and provided for the resumption of specie payments. For ten years it carried on a desperate flirtation with silver, and then, at the end, voted for the single gold standard with enthusiastic unanimity, reinforced by eleven Democrats, which required heroism. It may not be so short and easy in the Senate, where the procedure is mediaeval, but the result will be the same, and the people will say Amen. The man who aims at nothing always hits it, and this appears to be the predicament of the Democrats. They have no affirmative policy.

Whatever the Republicans are for, they are against, and for that reason they voted in the negative on the gold standard without offering an amendment for free silver. In opposing expansion, the enlargement of our national boundaries either by purchase or conquest, they are acting in despite of the greatest names on their illustrious roster, and slurring the traditions of

co. hab. inco. pract. with. nor T. points. The. pines. tached f. the Pacif. no obsta. and time. might as. Oregon, as t. tucket to Ma. That the insu. and some plan. cans in due sea. position of Pett. the most insolent. It is the most f. resolute majority. -t cuts off debate, i. d. i. out if it prevails.

If the Republicans in Congress have a weapon their armor is on the subject of trusts and mo. The message of the President shows how s. the question has engaged public attention. Th. jority is narrow, and the encroachments of the r. power are strenuous and subtle. The people de. radical and aggressive but just legislation. For f. the party in power will be held responsible. The i. ent Anti-Trust law is a curious illustration of the. accuracies of history. It is generally known as. "Sherman Act," and is popularly supposed to hav. been drawn by the venerable statesman from Ohio. The original bill was reported by Mr. Sherman from the Committee on Finance. It was debated for several days in the Senate, and found to be so defective that it was rather unceremoniously referred to the Commit. tee on the Judiciary, where Mr. Edmunds, the chalm. man, took it in hand and reported the measure exacte. as it now stands in the statute book. It was s. sneered at for a while as a tub to a whale, but t. cent decision of the Supreme Court shows that it. of the most profound and far-reaching enactme. modern times. JOHN J. ING

From a Democratic Standpoint

By D. A. De Armond
Congressman from Missouri.

THE Republicans are in control of all the branches of the Government. They possess the power to do whatever they wish to do. That they will exercise this power broadly or generously is hardly within the bounds of reasonable belief. How narrow or how in- different to the welfare of the public it may be remains to be seen. I believe the theories of the Repub- lican party, especially under its Hannibal leadership, are dangerous in tendency and must prove hurtful in practice. So, as it appears to me, its great antagonist, the Democratic party, ought to contend against it valiantly, over every inch of the ground which it must cross to accomplish its bad purposes.

Even as I write, in the House the Republicans are eating up their own words, and proving their lack of sincerity or their instability, or both, in their advocacy of their single-gold-standard, bond-buying, national- bank-trust breeding bill. They rely confidently upon their ability to carry this measure through the House and the Senate, because orders to support it have been issued by their masters, and those to whom these orders have been issued are "not to reason why," but to obey.

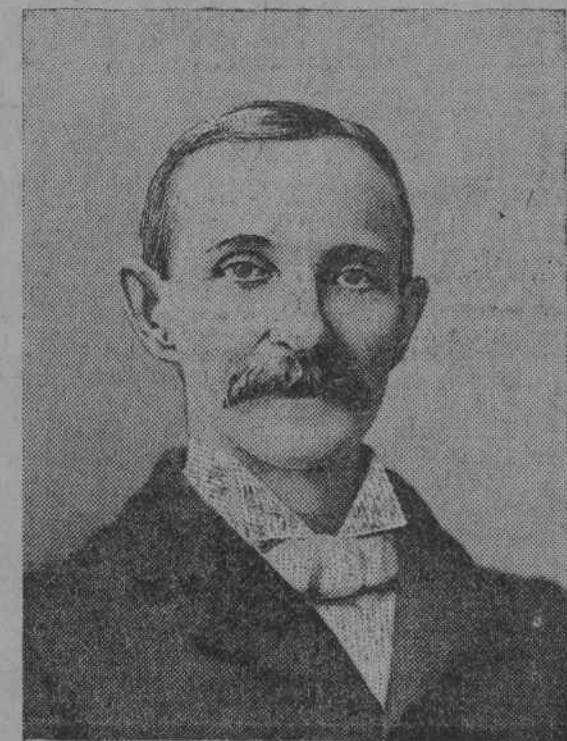
Many matters of greatest interest and importance must come before the Fifty-sixth Congress during its present session; perhaps some of even greater interest and importance, pressing now for consideration, may be kept out until after the next general election. For must not be forgotten by any one who speculates concerning the course of the Republican party that its t and ever-abiding thought is of itself; its next (if two thoughts are not, in fact, fractions of the same ight) is for the mighty aggregations of wealth and liege, robbed of which it would be impotent, unless ganized upon lines with which its Hannas are acquainted; later, and often not at all, the general

public receives a passing thought.

I have said often that I believe aggressiveness should characterize the Democracy to a degree unknown since the memorable campaign of 1896. Our people are earnest in their beliefs and naturally brave in battling for them. They are Democrats because they believe in the principles of the party to which they are attached. They believe their party is right, and it is their party because they believe it is right. They look upon politics as warfare, with reason and conscience, instead of force, the weapons. Full of courage and devotion themselves, they expect the Democrats who are to the front in trying times like those of to-day to be brave and devoted, too. Nothing so stirs their blood and fires their hearts as the sounds of sturdy blows, struck for their rights and their faith, by those whom they have honored with the opportunity to strike for them. Later on, when their opportunity comes, they will be in the thick of the fight, revelling in the wild but wholesome enthusiasm that honest conflict always arouses. But now, we who are in Congress, facing the responsibilities of the hour, and keeping in view the momentous issues that will divide the parties in 1900, and realizing how we may add strength to our column by the due exercise of judgment and courage upon the floors of Senate and House, and not forgetting that, by timidity or lack of wisdom, we may sacrifice those far better than ourselves, and hurt seriously, if not fatally, the sacred cause of the people—we cannot be too careful or industrious in our endeavors to know the right of things as they come up, or may be brought up, for discussion or action, or too valiant in assailing the wrong or in defending the right. We are upon the skirmish line of 1900, and no good opportunity for engaging the enemy's outposts should pass unimproved.

It is a fact that, in the Democratic party in Congress as well as outside of Congress, there is not complete

harmony of opinion upon all the leading questions of the day. It is characteristic of Democrats to have opinions, and upon what each one for himself deems a fit occasion, to express them. Individuality and regard



for the welfare of the individual citizen constitute an essential of Democracy, though now and then we find some narrow-minded fellow who is with the party, and who may think he is of it, ignorant of this obvious

fact. Hence, individual differences of opinion are not necessarily to be deplored. When these differences are found to exist, a most practical question is as to what course shall be taken. It would seem that the judg- ment of the majority rather than the judgment of the minority should govern. Democrats are now in a position to consider quite seriously the force of this popu- lar, Democratic philosophy.

I think no one can doubt that the declarations made by the Democratic party at Chicago in 1896 then were expressive of the judgment of a majority of those who belonged to that organization. It is my belief that the judgment of a majority of the party is what the judg- ment of the majority then was. I believe the majority judgment will be unchanged when the National Demo- cratic Convention meets in 1900. If so, the lines drawn in 1896 must remain, though extended, according to the judgment of the majority, as to the newer questions pressing for solution.

One of these questions, though not new, has received such impetus by current events of the past three years that it must have much of the interest and importance which ordinarily attaches to a question at once new and great. It is the trust question.

I cannot understand how a man can be a Democrat and fail to be a foe to the trust. I hope that, upon this issue, all who profess to believe in the principles enun- ciated by Jefferson and to be adherents of the party which he founded will find it easy to support his party in its stern opposition to this modern device for wrong- ing the people and undermining our Government, which was founded in the belief that men have the right to govern themselves.

Imperialism must be a prominent issue of the ap- proaching campaign. Many remark it as more vital than all the others, for, they say, mistakes in internal policy may be corrected before great harm has been wrought, but a fundamental change in the fibre of the

Government itself is remediless. All must agree, think, that, whether the Republic shall conquer the people of the islands of distant seas and hold them with the strong arm of military power, or govern them after the manner of the British in the management of their colonies, must be worth serious consideration before a decision in the affirmative.

For one, I regard imperialism as essentially wrong and inherently dangerous. I say "imperialism" advi- sedly. Some soften the crime against liberty and fre- government, as well expressed by the one word "im- perialism," by calling it "expansion," forgetting them- selves, or fancying or hoping that others may be, of what Shakespeare said about names.

No colonial system yet exploited in the world has harmonized or can be made to harmonize with the genius of a true republic. The soul of the republic cannot survive the test of empire, though for a con- siderable time the form may remain so, for the republic is antithesis of the empire. The republic is progress in the paths of the free; the empire is the fortress of despotism.

That the Democratic party will continue to revere the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution, and hold fast its faith in the Republic, I cannot doubt, let others believe as they may. In this firm conviction I look forward without a fear to the assembling of my party in convention next year, confident that it will declare in stronger terms against imperialism.

Sharing, as I believe I do, the views of the majority of my party, and confident that the views of the majority will find clear expression in its platform, no party difficulties confront me. What will those of the party who are in the minority do? I must believe that such of them who are sincere Democrats, will accept the decision of the majority of their friends, rather than desert their party for the Republicanism which to-day bears no mark of the Lincoln of the past, but lives, moves and has its being under the brand of Hanna.

Certainly, a genuine Democrat, if unable to agree with his party entirely, ought to find enough in it and of it with which he does agree to enable him, with a clear conscience and a stout heart, to fight with valor, hope and enthusiasm against the manifold evils of modern Republicanism. DAVID A. DE ARMOND.

From a Republican Standpoint

By C. H. Grosvenor
Congressman from Ohio.

THE Fifty-sixth Congress comes together under peculiar circumstances. The Republican majority is commissioned by the voice of the people to do certain things in any event, and to do certain other things if found to be wise and judicious.

The Fifty-sixth Congress is unique in one respect, been almost the universal condition that in the Congressional period of an Administration the representatives have been in hostility to the President incumbent. This is a cause of disappoint- ment in the matter of officers, a disappointment to the people in the matter of legislation. A new Adminis- tration coming into power is very apt to be disappoint- ing to its friends, and it is not unusual that dissatis- faction and disorganization take place in that year.

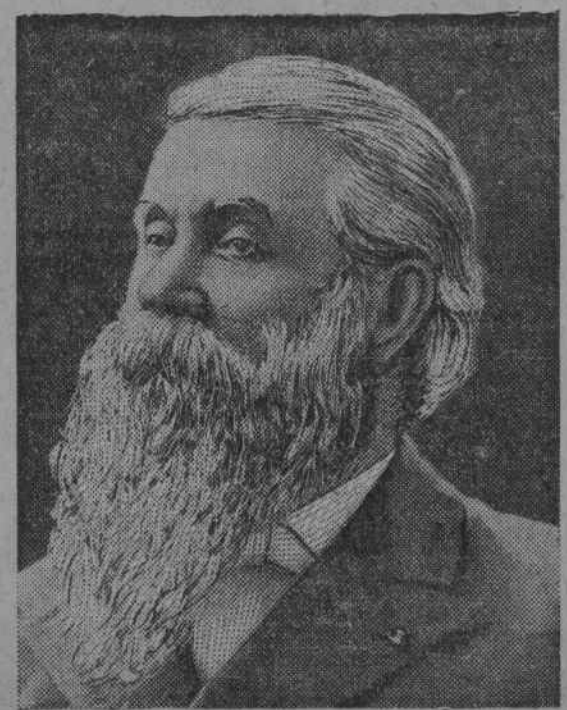
In the present instance I think the House of Repre- sentatives of the Fifty-sixth Congress is by far the compact, the best mobilized for the discharge of its duty that we have had in any Congress for years. It was remarkable that nearly two hun- dred Republicans could meet in caucus and, after a very brief, good-natured and interesting discussion of financial measure like the one just adopted, vote unanimously to pass the bill without amendment. And thus in evidence of discipline where there was no usual rallying cry, but a simple coming together of men and purpose on behalf of the member's sim-

ply proves that the issues of 1900 are already made up. The Republicans will present in this Congress a solid front for sound money—the gold standard, and the Democratic minority will find themselves, as they are already, divided upon this question of the campaign, and whether they will come together at any later period remains to be seen.

As to the things which the Republican majority has been commissioned to do: First, and most conspicuous of all, it has been delegated to revise the statutory financial condition of the country; that is to say, it has been decided by the people of the country in the election of McKinley and the upholding of the platform at St. Louis that the unwritten law of the Treasury, which for twenty years has paid gold upon every obli- gation of the Government, shall be now ordered by statute to continue that process. This is simply to enact into law the declaration of the Republican plat- form which ordained the existing gold standard.

When Congress shall have approved of this measure, either in the form it comes to the Senate or in such form as may afterward be agreed upon, there will be no free and unlimited coinage of silver in this country for the next eight years in any event, because the Senate is absolutely sure to be against it during that period of time.

This measure was prepared and brought to the House by a caucus committee of eleven members. I



appointed that committee after a great deal of study. They covered the country from Massachusetts to Gal- veston. They came from the great money centres of the East; they came from Pennsylvania, and from Indiana of the middle West, and there were repre- sentatives from the Pacific slope, from the shores of the Gulf of Mexico and from the granger States of Kansas and Wisconsin. This measure was the product of the unanimous voice of that committee, showing conclusively that the measure is one of popular origin and popular inspiration.

While the Dingley bill has produced a great and gratifying return of revenue to the Treasury, there is yet, nevertheless, a demand that must be heeded, that there shall be economy in the public expenditures, needless expenditures must not be made, and many needful things must be postponed to a later and future day. Our expanding trade demands the early comple- tion of an interoceanic canal by one of the two great routes. That great work will be accomplished, and the foundation for it must come of legislation in the Fifty-sixth Congress.

As to trusts and combinations: It is my judgment, and I so said to a reporter of this paper some days ago, that the Sherman law of 1890, which was a Re- publican measure and which has now been put in force and effectiveness by the Republi- can, gives all the remedy needful in

overthrow of illegal trusts and harmful trusts which can be made by the action of Congress. This legisla- tion, thus upheld by the Supreme Court, covers the whole ground of Congressional action, and all other laws should be enacted by the Legislatures of the several States. I repeat what I said before: I am opposed to any interference by Congressional action with the right of the States to organize, create, control, limit and regulate their own corporations in their own way, and for Congress to impair it by limitation upon the operation of State corporations other than that which was enacted in the Interstate Commerce law would be such a violation of the right of States that it is not to be thought of for a moment.

Our insular possessions: They will, of course, receive the attention of Congress, and the action which will come of Congress will be along the lines of—

First, as to Cuba, the establishment of her inde- pendence, so soon as she manifests capability for self- government, and along the lines of what is best for the people of Porto Rico and the Philippines, coupled with a constant eye as to what is most profitable, most w. and patriotic in the eyes of the American people. insist that those countries th they were contiguous th the people of the United nable for their governme the duties incident to a C. H. G.